

A MISTAKEN ICONOGRAPHY? EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY VISITOR ACCOUNTS OF STOURHEAD.*

Stourhead, in Wiltshire, the creation of the banker Henry Hoare and his successors, is an iconic example of the English landscape garden. This paper argues that Stourhead has become an iconographical battlefield on which successive generations of historians have sought to erect a single unified meaning based on themes identified in the buildings and design concept. This paper suggests that scholarly attempts to read the garden as a whole have neglected Stourhead's visitors, who, during the long eighteenth century, understood, experienced and enjoyed the landscape in a way that was largely devoid of iconographical meaning.

On 13 April 1773, Maria Rishton wrote to her stepsister Frances Burney.

We went yesterday to see Mr. Hoare's House and Garden at Storehead [sic], a place I think the best worth seeing of any seat I ever beheld – it had every advantage Art or Nature Can bestow – Imagine to yourself the Most beautiful romantic Country there is in the West of England Commanding the most delightful prospects and where three Hundred Thousand pounds on the most moderate Calculation has been spent in the improvements.ⁱ

Mrs Rishton went on to list the various garden features she encountered - a grotto, 'composed of the most beautiful Spas and Fossils'; 'a palladion [sic] Bridge over a most beautiful piece of Water'; 'a temple of the Sun'; 'a pantheon filled with very Costly Statues of all the heathen gods and goddesses'; 'a temple

of Flora'; 'a beautiful Turkish Tent'; 'a Prodigious fine root-house'; 'mighty pretty inscriptions'; 'a delightful ride on a terrace that surrounds all his Estates'; 'this beautiful building', Alfred's Tower; before finally driving through 'the most divine Winding Walks to the Convent'.ⁱⁱ

Lady Amabel Yorke, Countess de Grey, recorded her visit on 25 August 1774 in a similar fashion.

...First part old-fashioned, - Terrass, to the Obelisk – Turkish Seat – Walk below it to Turkish Tent – Bridge – The Lake in most places edg'd with Woods – Grotto – Pantheon, Hercules by Rysbrack at the upper End. Other Statues from Antique, Basreliefs over them from ditto – Chairs painted from ditto.ⁱⁱⁱ

Rishton's and Yorke's diary entries are typical eighteenth-century accounts of visits to Stourhead. Diaries and letters recording visits were terse summaries of the major attractions. Visitors listed each successive feature without attempting to provide an overarching superstructure of meaning to the garden, in contrast to the iconographical approach favoured by recent scholars.

AN INTERPRETATIVE MINEFIELD: STOURHEAD AND THE HISTORIANS

Maiken Umbach, in her work on the cultural impact of Enlightened Federalism in eighteenth-century Germany, observes in a footnote how the gardens of Stourhead have 'inspired an intense debate, with scholars arguing how their

iconography illustrates the founding myth of Rome or, alternatively, a path to Christian virtue'.^{iv} The former draws inspiration from the work of Edward Malins and Kenneth Woodbridge, describing the landscape in terms derived from the *Aeneid*. The latter rejects the role of Virgil's epic and in its place suggests the importance of symbols of Christian significance, through either the lakeside circuit walk or the counterpoint of gothic and classical architectural forms. Drawing inspiration from both is a third reading where Stourhead may represent the Choice of Hercules, writ large in the English landscape garden.

As Stephanie Ross has observed, what unites all of these approaches is the desire to 'uncover the meaning intended by the garden's designer'.^v This iconographical reading is a twentieth-century construct and the Stourhead landscape has been able to support a series of competing and, at times, conflicting, meanings. The first, the most influential, and the most sustained approach has been to read Stourhead in terms of Virgil's *Aeneid*. Malins and Woodbridge gave birth to the *Aeneid* interpretation in the mid-1960s with their respective works, *English Landscaping and Literature 1660-1840* (1966) and 'Henry Hoare's paradise' (1965) (expanded as part of *Landscape and Antiquity: Aspects of English Culture at Stourhead, 1718 to 1838* (1970)).^{vi} Malins saw the Stourhead landscape with a painter's eye, stressing how, 'suddenly the view opens and Claude's landscape, *Coast View of Delos with Aeneas*, unfolds before you'.^{vii} This painterly composition of the landscape, Malins argued, is extended through the whole of the lakeside circuit walk. Evidently Henry Hoare had the *Aeneid* in mind, for over the door of the Temple of Flora is the inscription '*Procul*

o, procul este profani ('Away, away ye uninitiate!') – the words cried out by the Sibyl before she led Aeneas into the underworld to seek his father (Figure 1).^{viii}

Woodbridge's work interprets Stourhead in similar terms, asserting that, 'the pictorial and literary clues point to the *Aeneid*'.^{ix} Like Malins, Woodbridge asserts that, 'the painting in the National Gallery called *Coast View of Delos with Aeneas*...bears more than a casual relation to the design of the garden'.^x The link between the *Aeneid* and the Stourhead landscape is confirmed by the inscription '*Procul o, procul este profani*'. From this and other details round the lakeside circuit Woodbridge constructed his influential reading of the garden as a closed circuit lakeside walk paralleling Aeneas' founding of Rome.^{xi}

If one set of historians could look to the ancient world for iconographical inspiration, alternative readings of Stourhead have likewise assumed that Hoare 'had a particular message he wanted his garden to convey'.^{xii} For Ronald Paulson, Stourhead was one continuous allegory illustrating man's choice between a life of duty and a life of retirement and contemplation. Paulson locates this choice in J. Michael Rysbrack's figure of Hercules contained within the Pantheon **(constructed 1753-4)**.^{xiii} Michael Charlesworth has built upon Paulson's observation to argue that the Hoare's use of the 'Choice of Hercules' reflected both his mercantile morality and 'Britain's emerging geo-political position as the world's major mercantile and bourgeois power'.^{xiv} Susan Gordon has recently suggested that one can also include the Temple of Flora within this iconography keyed to the story of Hercules' labours. The temple, a symbol of idleness, becomes the counterpoint to the symbol of Herculean industry sitting across the

lake.^{xv} Max Schulz pushed Paulson's assertion that the garden was a representation of the Christian soul's passage through life even further, arguing that the circuit walk 'coincided with ritual re-enactments of the return to Eden and other sacred forms of the soul's eternal pilgrimage'.^{xvi}

Both Woodbridge and Paulson's approach came under fire from James Turner who argued for the important contrast between the classical lakeside buildings and the gothic architecture of the wider estate.^{xvii} Unlike Schulz after him, and Paulson before, Turner anchored his argument to the topography of the estate and the order in which the visitor would have approached certain features. He argued for a topographical structure and a textual structure. His argument depends on the order in which the visitor would have encountered the five inscriptions in the garden.^{xviii} Turner, however, remains wedded to the *Aeneid*, arguing that 'a far more cogent and plausible program is provided by the *first* book of the Aeneid, the immediate context of the first inscription'.^{xix} The Stourhead landscape, therefore, is to be read within the literary traditions of rural retirement. As Ross has suggested regarding Turner's interpretation, 'if storms represent political strife, then a calm harbour – and by extension the entire Stourhead landscape – stands for shelter, respite and moral integrity'.^{xx}

The most combative of scholarly responses to Stourhead has been that of Malcolm Kelsall, who took aim at 'rhetoric...spun from the looms of fantasy' that interpreted Stourhead in terms of the *Aeneid*, or as a second Troy, or as a parallel of the Christian soul's tribulations.^{xxi} After asserting the need for a contextual reading of the *Aeneid*, Kelsall suggested that the question posed by the gardens at

Stourhead is the relationship between the civic virtues and natural religion of the ancients, and Christian revealed religion.^{xxii} The visitor must compare and consider the relation between the virtues of the ancients and the virtues of a modern patrician, as symbolised by the classical lakeside architecture and the gothic Alfred's Tower.

Historians of Stourhead have concentrated on certain features of the lakeside circuit. The importance of the inscription above the doorway of the Temple of Flora has been repeatedly stressed, as has the position of Rysbrack's statue of Hercules within the garden. Whilst Turner and Kelsall considered the features of the wider estate, it was not their primary concern. Such iconographical debates have allowed scholars to display great inventiveness in combining the topography of the Stourhead site with their extensive classical and literary knowledge. Yet throughout fifty years of critical discussion and intensive archival research, the eighteenth-century visitor to Stourhead has remained an abstract and fleeting figure.

'AWKWARDLY INCONSEQUENTIAL OBSERVATIONS':^{xxiii} STOURHEAD'S HISTORIANS AND STOURHEAD'S VISITORS.

This paper diverges from traditional scholarly approaches to the garden and estate of the Hoare family at Stourhead by using visitor accounts to highlight previously overlooked landscape features. If, as has been seen, the gardens of Stourhead can support a number of competing iconographical interpretations, to

what extent were these recorded and responded to by eighteenth-century visitors? As John Dixon Hunt has suggested,

there are indeed visitors who recount visits to Stourhead, but they are ignored or used very tendentiously to exemplify or sustain some latter-day holistic interpretation. Where we do have a sufficient collection of visitors' accounts of other garden landscapes – for Stowe for example – they often fail to fit snugly with our own modern accounts of landscape design and significance.^{xxiv}

The disconnect between recent iconographical approaches to Stourhead and the landscape as recorded by eighteenth-century visitors reveals a much greater popular interest in the features of the wider estate accessed on horseback or by chaise than a pedestrian circumambulation of the lakeside with its classical inscriptions and iconography. Visitors responded more readily to a localized English past, in the form of Alfred's Tower, than they did to an idealized classical world, displayed in the Pantheon, Temple of Flora and Temple of Apollo (constructed 1765). Previous scholarship has not engaged extensively with visitor responses to Stourhead as these accounts fail to support their broad iconographical readings. Kenneth Woodbridge, on whose archival endeavours the whole history of the site is based, noted (with some frustration) how, 'the iconology and inscriptions provoked little reflection on the part of visitors, and were in some cases inaccurately described'.^{xxv} Regarding the Dutch nobleman Baron Van Spaen van Biljoen's account of his visit in 1791 Woodbridge lamented how 'The Dutchman's account of Stourhead adds little to our information, and

contains chiefly conventional appreciation (“masterpiece of good taste”) and the usual misinterpretations and inaccuracies.^{xxvi}

This conventional appreciation was not couched in iconographical terms amenable to Woodbridge’s reading of the landscape. Visitor accounts, for Woodbridge and later commentators, ‘var[ied] enormously in quality and usefulness, from the cliché-ridden description of the uninstructed tourist, to the specialised attention of the connoisseur’.^{xxvii} This full spectrum of description is, however, useful for it illustrates the divergence between scholarly responses to Stourhead and the facets of the landscape that most interested eighteenth-century visitors.

Stourhead’s visitors were drawn from ‘polite society’.^{xxviii} Yet within this narrow group there was still considerable variation. Stourhead was visited by provincial parsons such as James Woodforde,^{xxix} Irish prelates such as Richard Pococke,^{xxx} religious reformers such as John Wesley,^{xxxi} leading cultural commentators including Horace Walpole,^{xxxii} the actor David Garrick,^{xxxiii} John Wilkes,^{xxxiv} architects and painters, including Robert Adam^{xxxv} and J.M.W. Turner;^{xxxvi} and the massed ranks of the provincial gentry and aristocracy.

Every visitor brought different ideas and associations to bear on different parts of the garden.^{xxxvii} Stourhead was, by the 1770s, famous beyond a limited coterie of aristocratic garden enthusiasts. John Wesley noted in his journal that ‘I spent two hours in Mr. Hoare’s gardens at Stourton. I have seen the most celebrated gardens in England, but these far exceed them all’.^{xxxviii} Mrs Lybbe

Powys had for 'some years wish'd to see Stourhead',^{xxxix} and fortunately the gardens 'answered every difficulty we had met with ... as both house and grounds are so vastly well worth seeing.'^{xl} Stourhead also attracted international attention. Baron Van Spaen van Biljoen visited 'Mr Hoare's famous estate' in 1791, declaring that nothing in England could compare with Stourhead, where 'we were in such ecstasy that we had the utmost difficulty in tearing ourselves away from this charming spot'.^{xli} Lord Shelburne's son, on visiting the gardens at Wörlitz in the German principedom of Anhalt-Dessau in 1786, was also struck by the extent to which they drew inspiration from Stourhead.^{xlii}

The majority of visitors' accounts attempt to convey that he or she was alone and so 'appreciates more keenly the companionship of the place', and was able to respond correctly to the prompts of the owner and designer.^{xliii} However, the likelihood of such solitary exploration was slim. Mrs Lybbe Powys visited on 5 August 1776, stating that 'our party small, Mr Annesley, my brother, Mr Powys, and myself in two phaetons'.^{xliv} James Woodforde visited several times; in September 1763, he travelled with 'Papa and Mama, Jenny, Mr Will^m Melliar and his wife, Mrs Chicke and her Niece Molly Chicke'.^{xlv} He returned thirty years later with an even larger party:

Miss Webb and my Sister Pounsett went with me in Bruton Chaise, Mrs K. Clarke, Nancy Woodforde and Jenny Pounsett – in one of Ansford Inn Chaises, My Brother and Wife and Miss Hussey in another of Ansford Inn Chaises, and Betsy Guppey rode on horseback, single.^{xlvi}

Large parties were not just reserved for the lower spectrum of polite society. On 28 September 1768 Lord Digby, Sir Brook, Lady Bridges and Miss Fielding ‘went in the coach to see Mr. Hoare’s at Stowerhead [sic], dined at the inn there’,^{xlvii} before returning to Sherborne House in the evening. In August 1771 Lord and Lady Digby repeated their visit of three years previously, this time visiting Stourhead with four other friends.^{xlviii}

Whilst exploring the house, gardens and wider estate, visitors could not help but pass comment on other groups. Lybbe Powys observed that, ‘another party of company could not bring themselves to venture’ over the Chinese Bridge at one end of the lake, which she felt was ‘not so bad after you have brought yourself to venture a few of its steps, tho’ its perpendicular appearance and seeing the water through it at first looks formidable’.^{xlix} Whilst Lybbe Powys felt a certain sense of superiority in braving the bridge, Richard Fenton, was thankful that he was ‘so fortunate as to join a lady and gentlemen who in their way to Bath had stopped that morning to see Stourhead’. Fenton’s new gentleman companion was ‘a great amateur and critic in pictures’, which added to his enjoyment of the house.^l

Paintings, drawings and engravings of Stourhead reinforce the limited possibilities for solitary exploration. Francis Vivares’ engravings, one looking out from Stourton village, over to the Pantheon (Plate VII), the other looking back from the Pantheon to the village, both show a landscape full of people (Figure 2).^{li} The former includes a party exploring by horse and chaise, another in a rowing boat, whilst the mixed gender group in the foreground are preparing to

engage a figure, most likely a gardener, for his services as a guide. Vivares' engravings support Jonas Hanway's account of his 'coasting voyage on the little enchanting ocean'.^{lii} Coplestone Warre Bampfylde's other panoramic sketches of the lakeside also include a number of visitors in boats,^{liii} a theme continued into the nineteenth century in the watercolours of Francis Nicholson as part of his series of drawings of 'Rural Scenery at Stourhead, in the County of Wilts', now in the British Museum (Plate VIII).^{liv}

The implicit motivation behind scholarly work on Stourhead has been the desire to discover original meaning – the intentions and intellectual hinterground that inspired Henry Hoare to create, modify and expand the landscape over a forty-year period. As Hunt has suggested, the limited use of visitor responses in this context requires a rhetorical slight of scholarly hand drawing on

a variety of cultural contexts that are presented as filling out, as fulfilling, the meagre materials about an 'authorial' meaning. This tactic necessitates the projection or 'invention' of an ideal or...virtual visitor, although in fact no actual ones are cited.^{lv}

This has been the case with iconographical readings of Stourhead. Charlesworth explored the iconography of the Choice of Hercules 'by focusing more intently on the question of visitors' movement',^{lvi} yet did not use a single eighteenth-century visitor account to support his argument. Kelsall, in his rebuttal of Woodbridge's argument, only spoke of an 'educated visitor of the

age'.^{lvii} In this respect visitor responses have not been especially useful, for they fail to support iconographical readings designed to give the landscape an overall meaning.

To illustrate the importance of Stourhead's visitors and their relation to iconographical readings of the landscape take the example of the Temple of Flora (initially called the Temple of Ceres). Malins laid the foundations for the scholarly fascination with Flitcroft's Doric Temple in 1966. (Figure 3)^{lviii} By 1983 Malcolm Kelsall was able to write of how the quotation over the temple door – *Procul, o procul este profani* – had become 'an essential prop for the programmatic reading of the garden in relation to the *Aenied*'.^{lix} However, this prohibition of entrance to the profane was not recorded in print until Richard Warner's *Excursions from Bath* in 1801.^{lx} How could this inscription be one of the keys to unlocking meaning if, since its construction between 1744-1746, Warner was the first to comment on it in print?

Malins,^{lxi} Woodbridge,^{lxii} Paulson,^{lxiii} Schulz,^{lxiv} Kelsall^{lxv} and Charlesworth^{lxvi} all assume that the visitor would have begun their exploration of the lakeside circuit from Stourton village by first passing the Temple of Flora, thus assuring the importance of the inscription.^{lxvii} However, Richard Colt Hoare's *A Description of the House, Paintings and Gardens, Together with the Museum of Antiquities at Stourhead* (1818), recommended the exact opposite. After arguing that, 'in perambulating any extensive demesne, some regular order of progress should be laid down',^{lxviii} Colt Hoare reflected on the view from Stourton village across to the Pantheon:

It is indeed the very best and most picturesque which the gardens afford, and therefore should be seen the last, and form the *finale* of this *promenade* – it frequently however is seen the *first* whenever company visit the gardens from the Inn; on which account we recommend the starting from the house and not the inn.^{lxxix}

Colt Hoare was reflecting a precedent established during his grandfather's time.^{lxxx} The eighth edition of Daniel Defoe's *A Tour Through the Island of Great Britain*, noted how 'From the **principal** front there is a very pleasing, diversified prospect; but this did not delay us from turning through a gate to the right of the house into a large lawn.'^{lxxxi} The group finished their walk around the lake at a greenhouse^{lxxxii} above the Temple of Flora: 'a path from hence leads to the gate through which we were conducted to the village, and to our inn'.^{lxxxiii} After viewing the house, William Gilpin encountered the grotto first, and does not mention the Temple of Flora.^{lxxxiv} Hanway spoke of 'several irregular walks of different breadths leading into the valley' before entering the grotto first.^{lxxxv} Baron Van Spaen van Biljoen noted how 'when one leaves this interesting house, one enters the park to discover new beauties at every moment', and that the means of entering the lakeside circuit was, 'a charming walk [which] ends in a sombre and silent grotto'.^{lxxxvi} Sir John Parnell, despite entering the garden from the village, noted how 'you pass thro' a winding shrubbery and meet a small Gothic green-house built of course flints, with Gothic pilasters'.^{lxxxvii} By 1833, however, John Claudius Loudon entered the garden past

the Temple of Flora, observing how ‘the guide-book informs us that we ought to enter from the lawn front of the house; but this we found impracticable’.^{lxxviii}

Where a route is discernable in visitors’ recollections, the majority started their walk from the mansion level. As James Turner has pointed out, by this sentiment, the Temple of Flora is ‘the most secluded part of the garden, cut off by woods and fences from the circuit-walk and only glimpsed by visitors’.^{lxxix} Why should Henry Hoare organise the garden circuit in a way that diverted visitors from one of the iconographical hooks on which much Stourhead scholarship has been based? Recent archaeological work at Stourhead may provide an explanation. A sonar survey of the great lake suggested that there was an earlier stage of landscaping around the Temple of Flora based on a straight canal.^{lxxx} The Temple of Flora was part of the original formal landscape of Stourhead, constructed soon after Henry Hoare’s arrival at the property in 1741. Perhaps we should read the inscription from the *Aeneid* – *Procul, o procul este profani* – not as a general comment on the iconographical intentions of the garden, but more as a specific comment on a specific structure’s purpose. Are the words from the Sibyl a warning from Hoare to protect the privacy of the garden’s most intimate and personal space?

‘THE FINEST RIDES OR DRIVES I EVER METT’^{lxxxii}: RE-INCORPORATING THE WIDER ESTATE.

If ‘iconographical explanations of gardens are often flawed or (more honestly) frustrated precisely because there is no visitor evidence to corroborate their perspectives’,^{lxxxiii} as with the example of the Temple of Flora, how else can one

employ these sources? Visitor accounts suggest that other areas of the designed landscape may have held more interest in the eighteenth century, and with regards to Stourhead, visitors were fascinated by the rides and drives of the wider estate.

Previous scholarship on Stourhead has dealt only fleetingly with the wider estate, finding it difficult to incorporate its features within an iconography derived from a study of the Classical lakeside temples. If, however, one accepts that Hoare may not have had an overarching iconographical programme for his landscape, eighteenth-century visitor accounts are useful for they indicate how contemporaries separated their experiences into two distinct parts. The title of the laudatory poem *A Ride and Walk Through Stourhead* (1780) is instructive. Here the poet drew a firm distinction between pedestrian enjoyment of the lakeside circuit and exploring the plantations of Hoare's wider estate on horseback, where 'Th' Horizon terminates the glorious View/ Of one continued Lawn'.^{lxxxiii} The poet lavishes his attention on the 'Numberless Embryo Forests two Feet high',^{lxxxiv} exploring the wider estate in 372 lines out of a total 598. He was not alone. One of the earliest guidebooks to Stourhead felt it necessary to 'introduce the tourist, first to the grounds immediately adjoining the house, and afterwards to the more distant part of the demesne',^{lxxxv} before going on to suggest a proscriptive route around the landscape.^{lxxxvi}

What impressed visitors was the extent of the rides through the wider estate (Figure 4). Gilpin conceded that 'Three vallies, thus closed by an immense terrace, is a singular production of nature'.^{lxxxvii} Lybbe Powys believed that

Lancelot 'Capability' Brown could not have executed the plantations with 'more taste and elegance',^{lxxxviii} and was duly impressed by the 7-mile extent of the rides around the wider estate. In the Bodleian Library, Oxford, a marginal gloss in a Stourhead guidebook states that 'the grounds are far preferable to the gardens; a pleasant ride', and that 'whosoever goes away without taking the ride loses'.^{lxxxix} As accounts of Stourhead were added to guidebooks of nearby towns such as Bath and Salisbury, so the praise of Stourhead's rides continued. The guide to the latter recommended that 'No stranger should neglect making the Tour of the Terrace and of Alfred's Vale, a circuit of seven miles'.^{xc} The marginalia in the Bodleian's Stourhead guide confirms the point, observing that the area surrounding St. Peter's Pump was 'By much the pleasantest part of the Grounds and forms a pleasing view from the Terrace'.^{xc}

The serial garden visitor Sir John Parnell described the turf terrace to Alfred's Tower as 'dressed very smooth like a race course'^{xcii} and compared it to those at Cirencester Park (Figure 5):

This great drive putt me in mind of Lord Bathurst's, and made up all that was desirable at Mr Hoare's for I thought his improvements, tho so beautiful, were rather too confined, and chiefly intended for viewing on foot.^{xciii}

Parnell went on to suggest that, 'This kind of drive...is one of the most striking & pleasing of all improvements affording a charming place for air and exercise any

time of the year.^{'xciv} He was not alone. Writing forty-two years later, Richard Fenton collapsed into hyperbole when discussing the same stretch of ground:

The surface of this noble terrace is as fine and level as if it were mowed ... and so clean, that it will not soil a lady's silk shoe; in short, for a delightful promenade and ride in a carriage, or on horseback, I may venture to say that there is nothing to rival it in the kingdom.^{xcv}

By 1835 critical observations were more freely made about the outer circuit. Loudon after first assuring the reader that 'the terrace drive...covered with soft turf, is one of the finest things of this kind in the kingdom',^{xcvi} argued that 'the place is rendered monotonous by the prevalence of laurel',^{xcvii} before observing, in a revealing comment about the changing social status of the garden tourist in the nineteenth-century, how:

The drive at Stourhead, which is said to be six miles in extent, displays some fine woods and extensive prospects; but the ascents are too steep to be enjoyed by those who, like us, travel with only one horse....One of the finest features about any extensive place which is hilly, or contains a high hill, such as Stourhead or High Clere, is a smooth road which shall ascend almost insensibly, and by a beautiful route to the top of the hill, and descend again equally agreeably by a different road. There is no hill that exists in which this effect may not be accomplished; and of this the ascent and descent of the Simplon is a standing proof.^{xcviii}

The larger territory of the estate to which the lakeside circuit at Stourhead belonged had a profound affect on how contemporary viewers experienced Hoare's landscape. Exploring the wider estate offered visitors the opportunity to reflect on Hoare's reputation as a landowner and his attitude toward his tenants. Both Richard Graves and Jonas Hanway used their descriptions of the garden and the estate as didactic tools to encourage reflection upon the perils of indolence. Hanway concluded that Hoare was an example of virtue displayed magnificently:

Mr. *Hoare* is an instance of great mediocrity with a large fortune, and what the advantages of riches are when well employed; for his temperance and moderation constitute a considerable part of his character, and render him as amiable as his other good qualities.^{xcix}

Grave's *Columella* continues the dialogue form of Gilpin's *A Dialogue upon the Gardens of ... Viscount Cobham, at Stow* (1748) with three characters, Hortensius, Atticus and Columella, visiting Stourhead. After being 'seized with the utmost rapture at the beauty of the place'^c the triumvirate explore the wider estate before Hortensius meets 'a young wood-nymph' near the Convent. This meeting is an excuse for Graves to ruminate on the dangers of 'a lady's indulging so romantic and impudent a passion',^{ci} before reporting her condition to the gardener – acting as their guide – who

did not doubt that something would be done for the poor woman's relief, as Mr. H— he was sure took as much pleasure in an act of humanity, as in building a temple, or in adding any other embellishment to the place.^{cii}

Lybbe Powys's experience of the wider estate exemplifies the admiration in which Hoare was held by visitors:

These were nothing more than naked hills and dreary valleys, which now are so beautifully adorn'd by art, assisting Nature with trees, her greatest ornament, where hills and water only were before. This indeed might be discovered by the disagreeableness of the country the instant you are out of Mr Hoare's domains.^{ciii}

This phenomenon was not unique to Stourhead. Hunt has noted a similar pattern with the temple-strewn landscape of Stowe, in Buckinghamshire, observing how, 'one of the striking aspects of the reception of Stowe is the emphasis that visitors placed, not upon the gardens, but on the huge and wooded parkland that surrounded them'.^{civ} The time dedicated to the wider estate in visitors' recollections indicates the need to further reincorporate this important feature within studies of the eighteenth-century designed landscape.^{cv}

'I NEVER SAW ANYTHING PRETTIER IN MY LIFE'^{cvi}: THE BUILDINGS OF THE WIDER ESTATE

Woodbridge suggested that the buildings of the wider estate 'were not designed for use, nor were they ornamental in the sense that the temples of the gardens

were'.^{cvi} The classical insertions into the lakeside circuit have seemed far more potent instruments of meaning for modern critics, for, to our eyes at least, they seem much more readable – 'they speak something we understand and they invoke an iconography readily deciphered'^{cvi} – which may go some way to explaining how Paulson could dismiss the 'irrelevant Gothic elements' of the garden.^{cix} Yet Alfred's Tower (conceived 1762, completed c. 1772) and the Convent (c. 1765) captivated visitors throughout the late eighteenth century. Both structures were features on the wider rides of the estate, and the Convent was frequently used to break up the longer excursion to Alfred's Tower. Indeed, in the eighteenth century, Alfred's Tower was the most potent structure in the landscape, but not, as Kelsall suggests as a symbol of the difference between Ancient and Modern Augustanism.^{cx} Visitors interpreted Alfred's Tower in a similar fashion to James Turner, as both viewing platform and political monument (Figure 8).^{cx}

For Woodbridge, 'the bleak tower could not be called beautiful',^{cxii} but Defoe's *Tours* of 1778 praised this 'lofty wall of brick' for possessing 'the most affecting simplicity and natural grandeur I ever remember to have seen in any single structure, of any kind or in any country'.^{cxiii} Woodbridge's 'bleak tower' was a blank canvas on to which an increasingly Romanticised audience projected their own engagement with the Anglo-Saxon world of King Alfred. Hoare used Alfred to celebrate both the British victory over the French in the Seven Years War and to reaffirm his loyalty to the recently crowned George III. Alfred's Tower therefore offered visitors the opportunity to actively engage with the past and its relationship with the present. Climbing the steps to the top of the tower

was part of the excitement. No one, it seems, could agree on the number of steps, or the height. The American Loyalist exile Samuel Curwen recorded 211 steps making 155 feet in 1776,^{cxiv} Lybbe Powys 225 steps and 150 feet 10 inches in the same year,^{cxv} Mrs Boscawen recorded 256 steps in 1783,^{cxvi} Fenton believed the tower to be 160 feet tall in 1807,^{cxvii} and Cuthbert Tonstall recorded 220 steps and 180 feet in 1822.^{cxviii}

What was important at Alfred's Tower was the experience. Visitors did not dismiss it as a meaningless folly. The immense height of the viewing platform allowed visitors to imagine Alfred's kingdom of Wessex spread out before them.^{cxix} For the hyperbole-prone poet of *A Ride and Walk Through Stourhead*, the view didn't disappoint:

The Summit gain'd, their Point with most is gain'd.

Not so with me: My Views are unconfined.

Here Asiatic Mountains Wonder claim.

Her Nature on her larger Scale displays

Her Works stupendous.^{cxx}

The usually restrained Warner also fell captive to the panoramic charms of Alfred's Tower.

From this edifice, a view presents itself to the eye of such extent and variety, that imagination, much less description, can scarcely reach; the straining vision stretches over an expanse of ninety or a hundred miles in

diameter, including every variety of scenery – hills and dales; rivers, villages, and towers; the rich flats of Somersetshire; the bare downs of Wiltshire; and the dark mountains of Wales.^{cxxi}

Regardless of the tower's height, being able to trace Alfred's footsteps – 'a pleasing, but romantic notion' for Tostall - was a thrill.^{cxxii} Samuel Curwen, visiting in 1776, ten months after the USS *Alfred* had been commissioned as the first flagship of the Continental Navy,^{cxxiii} expressed his excitement in being at 'the spot on which Alfred erected his standard against the Danes' and recorded the inscription tablet, 'dedicated to the memory of the most deserving monarch England ever saw'.^{cxxiv} Nothing, however, compares to Richard Fenton's account of his 1807 visit:

At approaching this illustrious monument, I felt an awful veneration, little short of sacred, and Jones [Fenton's travelling companion], whose "Eye I saw in fine frenzy rolling," gave vent to his raptures in the following.

Hoare thankful felt th' enthusiast patriot's fire,

This sacred spot with awful reverence trod,

And bade the votive fabric to aspire,

An off'ring to his country and his God:-

For when the trophy to the man was rais'd,

'T was Heaven, who lent him, in the end was prais'd.^{cxxv}

Fenton, who earlier had dismissed tour diaries as 'tiresome', even when they included picturesque language or illustrations by prominent artists, was clearly in need of some excitement.^{cxxvi}

The 'adventure park spirit in which Henry Hoare created and enjoyed the gardens at Stourhead' is further evident in the frisson of dangerous Catholicism contained within the Convent (Figure 7).^{cxxvii} Defoe's tours documented how 'Having procured a chaise...we proceeded, through Mr. *Hoare's* woods and park, to a little building called the *Nunnery*. It is a *Gothic* design...and serves well as a place for occasional dinner and tea-drinking entertainments.^{cxxviii} Fenton took great pleasure in 'entering a most sequestered spot' where the Convent had been 'constructed to produce the desired effect'.^{cxxix} Fenton found the interplay between the building and planting particularly satisfying, observing that

To render the scene more sombre, the tree that here predominates is that species of fir which most truly harmonises with it, whose branches feather down to the ground, and are so tiled as almost to exclude the light of day.^{cxxx}

The excitement for the visitor was produced through both the interplay of light and dark and, like Alfred's Tower, a recollection of England's gothic past. Fenton speaks of 'having struggled through this monastic gloom', and a guidebook to the environs of Salisbury refers to, 'a gentle ascent through the bosom of a gloomy wood, formed for *midnight contemplation*':

Opposed to the vast features and extended variety of nature that fill the eye on this elevated spot, the umbrageous tranquillity that immediately succeeds in the winding circuit of the vale, amidst thousands of evergreens, cannot but create the most pleasing of sensations.^{cxxxix}

Mrs Boscawen was delighted by the dangers of religious idolatry contained within the Convent, as she wrote to Mrs Delany that

There is a *convent* in Mr. Hoare's woods that you wou'd like very well; it has fine painted glass in the windows, and a picture w^{ch} belong'd to one of y^e altars of Glastonbury abbey w^{ch} shuts up with doors, but perhaps, after all, it is only an imitation, for I am easily *taken in* upon these occasions and believe implicitly the tales of my ciceronis.^{cxxxix}

Whilst Mrs Boscawen, the Bluestocking intellectual, eagerly embraced her cicerone's anecdote, the author of the guidebook to Stourhead had heard it all before observing that 'The windows are decorated with painted glass, in which the Cicerone of the place never fails to point out a fly which is painted we may say, *ad vivum*'.^{cxxxix}

'A PORTICO SUPPORTED BY COLUMNS'^{cxxxix}: EVALUATING VISITOR RESPONSES.

This paper has demonstrated that visitor accounts can be used to supplement, and at times modify, the established iconographical readings of the gardens and wider estate at Stourhead. Visitors were not surrogates for clusters of

iconographical assumptions but capable of engaging with the garden on their own terms, as illustrated by their emphases on the various features of the wider estate. Yet, the majority of these accounts also display a fear on the part of the authors of making an aesthetic judgement, even if they were, for example, capable of identifying the provenance of Hoare's garden statuary.^{cxxxv}

Mrs Rishton prefaced her elaborate written description of the Stourhead estate by stating to her correspondent Fanny Burney that 'without anything to say or one grain of sense in my noddle I intend filling three sheets of paper'.^{cxxxvi} Controversial comments reveal this anxiety and an awareness of an audience. Mrs Boscawen, writing to Mrs Delany, dismissing the 'hideous' collection of paintings at Fonthill, immediately qualified her statement, hoping that Delany would not read this '3rd side of inn-paper, inn-pen, and inn-stupidity'.^{cxxxvii} Fenton expressed similar sentiments, when discussing Hoare's collection of paintings, believing that to provide an adequate account of their artistic merit 'requires talents I am conscious that I do not possess, and cannot presume to challenge'.^{cxxxviii}

Such qualifying statements were a typical defensive structure. John Byng, later fifth Viscount Torrington, was not shy in expressing his opinions about the impositions of travelling. He was, however, much more coy when it came to expressing his aesthetic opinion on taste, especially if it was contrary to received popular opinion. Visiting Hagley and The Leasowes, he 'resolved to judge for myself and not follow the opinion of every gazer, and flatterer', before observing: 'I think it is from writing that they are become so celebrated: for penmanship has

the power of puffing inferior places and rendering them visitable by the curious and admired by the ignorant.’^{cxxxix}

In eighteenth-century accounts of Stourhead, few commentators seem willing, or able to, display their connoisseurship. Sir John Parnell was atypical in noting of the Temple of Apollo that ‘it is a most expensive building, but I think not beautifull [sic] in proportion to its cost, the dome rather heavy & the indented entablature over the colonnade [sic] unmeaning & destructive of the use designd in a colonnade [sic] round a temple.’^{cxl} Parnell’s record engages with the changing style of the designed landscape beyond superficial comments on taste: ‘Here [the fir-walk], you’ll naturally say, is a specimen of the old fashioned straight lined gardens so much decried in the present age. How comes it here in a new improvement admired for elegant taste?’^{cxli} Lady Amabel Yorke also noted, on entering the garden at the fir walk, that the ‘first part [is] old-fashioned’,^{cxlii} suggesting that certain commentators were aware of the narratives of stylistic progression presented in works such as Horace Walpole’s ‘On Modern Gardening’ (London, 1780) and Thomas Whately’s *Observations on Modern Gardening...* (London, 1770).^{cxliii}

Other commentaries on the garden demonstrate visitors’ abilities to identify classical statues, but, tellingly, they do not make the iconographical leaps expected of them by modern commentators. Walpole identified all the statues in the Pantheon, and the series of paintings by Hoare of Bath, but did not link these features back to Poussin’s *Choice of Hercules* hanging on the wall in Hoare’s mansion;^{cxliv} the classical scholar Joseph Spence, whose work *Polymetis*,

‘explained the correct choice, order and appearance of classical statues’,^{cxlv} like Walpole, recorded the statues in the Pantheon, the provenance of the designs for the Temple of Apollo, and the paintings commissioned by Hoare of Bath, but made no attempt, in his letter to the Earl of Lincoln, to link these features with a broader iconographical programme.^{cxlvi} This is not to say that statues, or inscriptions, could not mean - John Wesley was horrified with the Pantheon, observing, ‘I cannot admire the images of devils’^{cxlvii} – but that eighteenth-century visitors did not believe they were crucial tools for unlocking a single iconographical meaning to unite the various features of the landscape. More common were observations such as Jonas Hanway’s, which noted that the Temple of Flora ‘has a portico supported by columns’.^{cxlviii}

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CAPTIONS

Figure 1. Inscription over the doorway in the Temple of Flora. Photo, author’s own, 2011.

Figure 2. F. Vivares, *A View of Stour Head in the County of Wilts...*, after C.W. Bampfylde; British Museum. Courtesy of The Trustees of the British Museum.

Figure 3. F. Vivares, *A View of Stourhead in the County of Wilts...*, after C.W.

Bampfylde; British Museum. Courtesy of The Trustees of the British Museum.

Figure 4. ; F. Nicholson, *Another View of the Lake...*, British Museum. Courtesy of

The Trustees of the British Museum.

Figure 5. **The Temple of Flora, Palladian Bridge, Bristol Cross and Stourton**

Church Photo, author's own, 2010.

Figure 6. View of turf terrace from Alfred's Tower looking east. Photo, author's own, 2011.

Figure 7. Great Drive at Cirencester Park, looking east. Photo, author's own, 2011.

Figure 8. Alfred's Tower. Photo, author's own, 2010.

Figure 9. The Convent. Courtesy of the Country Life Picture Library.

* The author is grateful to Louise Bralsford, Oskar Cox Jensen, Stephen Hague, Susan Humphrey, David Kennerley, Karen Lynch, Dr Geoffrey Tyack, the Garden History Society's referee, and the participants at the Mid-Atlantic Conference on British Studies, Pennsylvania State University, Abington for their comments on earlier versions of this paper.

ⁱ *The Early Diary of Frances Burney, 1768-1788*, ed. Annie Raine Ellis (2 vols., London: G. Bell, 1913), i, pp. 321-322.

ⁱⁱ *Ibid.*, pp. 322-323.

ⁱⁱⁱ West Yorkshire Archive Service (WYAS), Leeds, Vyner MSS, Acc. 2299: MS Diaries of Amabel Yorke, 1769-1827, vol. v, 25 Aug. 1774. I am grateful to Karen Lynch who kindly provided me with her transcripts of the original.

^{iv} Maiken Umbach, *Federalism and Enlightenment in Germany, 1740-1806* (London: The Hambledon Press, 2000), p. 60.

^v Stephanie Ross, *What Gardens Mean* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 79.

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- vi Edward Malins, *English Landscaping and Literature 1660-1840* (London: Oxford University Press, 1966) and Kenneth Woodbridge, 'Henry Hoare's Paradise', *Art Bulletin*, 47:1 (1965), pp. 83-116; idem., *Landscape and Antiquity: Aspects of English Culture at Stourhead, 1718 to 1838* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970).
- vii Malins, *English Landscaping and Literature 1660-1840*, p. 51.
- viii Ibid.
- ix Woodbridge, 'Henry Hoare's Paradise', p. 97.
- x Ibid.
- xi 'All this suggests that Henry was celebrating the founding of Rome, just as he, like Aeneas, was establishing his family in a place'. Woodbridge, *Landscape and Antiquity: Aspects of English Culture at Stourhead, 1718 to 1838*, p. 36.
- xii Ronald Paulson, *Emblem and Expression: Meaning in English Art of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1975), p. 28.
- xiii 'Though Rysbrack's Hercules is based on the Farnese Hercules, bearded and with his lion's skin, the placement between two women, with his head inclined toward one, strongly suggests that Hoare had in mind the element of choice – invoked in other parts of the garden by alternative paths'. Ibid., p. 30.
- xiv Michael Charlesworth, 'Movement, Intersubjectivity and Mercantile Morality at Stourhead' in Michel Conan (ed.), *Landscape, Design and the Experience of Motion* (Washington DC: Dunbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2003), pp. 263-285 (p. 279). See also, idem., 'On Meeting Hercules in Stourhead Garden', *Journal of Garden History*, 9:2 (1989), pp. 71-75; 'Hercules, Apollo and the Hermit: Exploring Stourhead', in P. Eyres (ed.), *Sons of the Sea: Commerce, Empire and the Landscape Garden, Part II: Representations of Hercules (and Neptune) in the Culture and Gardens of Augustan Britain* (Leeds, 1994), pp. 65-80. Richard Wheeler has also explored the role of Hercules in the landscape garden. See Richard Wheeler, 'The Choice of Hercules at Stowe, West Wycombe and Stourhead', in Sarah Rutherford (ed.), *Talking Heads: Garden Statuary in the Eighteenth Century* (Aylesbury: Buckinghamshire Gardens Trust, 2007), pp. 25-32.
- xv '...when the statue [of Ceres] was removed in 1753, and transferred to the newly erected Pantheon, not only did the name of the Temple change, but the ornament added reflected this change'. Susan Gordon, 'The Iconography and Mythology of the Eighteenth Century English Landscape Garden', (Bristol Univ., Ph.D. Thesis, 1999), p. 114.
- xvi Max F. Schulz, 'The Circuit Walk of the Eighteenth-Century Landscape Garden and the Pilgrim's Circuitous Progress', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 15:1 (1981), pp. 1-25 (p. 25).
- xvii James Turner, 'The Structure of Henry Hoare's Stourhead', *The Art Bulletin*, 61:1 (1979), pp. 68-77.
- xviii Following Turner's route the visitor would have encountered: i) Over the grotto, 'Intus aquae dulces, vivoque sedilia saxo, Nympharum domus' – Inside are sweet waters and seats of living rock – the house of the nymphs (*Aeneid* I. 167-168). ii) Pope's lines on the rim of the nymph's pool, Nymph of the Grot, these sacred springs I keep, /And to the murmur of these waters sleep;/ Ah! Spare my slumbers, gently tread the cave,/ And drink in silence, or in silence lave. iii) A now lost inscription beneath the river god. iv) Over the door of the

Temple of Flora, 'Procul o, procul este profani' – Away, away ye uninitiate! (*Aeneid* VI. 258). v) Dedicatory tablet to King Alfred installed on Alfred's Tower.

^{xxix} Turner, 'The Structure of Henry Hoare's Stourhead', p. 75.

^{xx} Ross, *What Garden Mean*, p. 76.

^{xxi} Malcolm Kelsall, 'The Iconography of Stourhead', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 46 (1983), pp. 133-143 (p. 135).

^{xxii} *Ibid.*, p. 141.

^{xxiii} John Dixon Hunt, 'Stourhead Revisited and the Pursuit of Meaning in Gardens', *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes*, 26:4 (2006), pp. 328-341 (p. 333).

^{xxiv} *Ibid.*

^{xxv} Kenneth Woodbridge, 'Stourhead in 1768: Extracts from an Unpublished Journal by Sir John Parnell', *Journal of Garden History*, 2:1 (1982), pp. 59-70 (p. 62).

^{xxvi} *Ibid.*

^{xxvii} *Ibid.*, p. 59.

^{xxviii} Edward Harwood provides a valuable overview of the requirements for domestic travel and how this limited garden visits to the privileged few. See, Edward Harwood, 'Rhetoric, Authenticity, and Reception: The Eighteenth-Century Landscape Garden, the Modern Theme Park, and Their Audiences', in Terence Young and Robert Riley (eds.), *Theme Park Landscapes: Antecedents and Variations* (Washington D.C.; Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002), pp. 49-68 (pp. 56-57).

^{xxix} See *The Diary of James Woodforde*, ed. Peter Jameson, Roy L. Winstanley et al (18 vols., The Parson Woodforde Society, 2008), iii and xiii.

^{xxx} See *The Travels through England of Dr. Richard Pococke*, ed. J.J. Cartwright (2 vols., London: The Camden Society, 1888), ii, p. 43.

^{xxxi} See J. Wesley, *An Extract of the Rev. Mr. John Wesley's Journal, from August 9, 1779 to August 26, 1782* (London: J. Paramore, 1797), p. 9-10.

^{xxxii} See Paget Toynbee, 'Visits to Country Seats', *Walpole Society*, XVI (1927-8), pp. 9-81 (pp. 41-44). Walpole also visited Stourhead with Robert Adam in 1776, see *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs Philip Lybbe Powys of Hardwick House, Oxon. A.D. 1756 to 1808*, ed. Emily J. Climenson (London, New York and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co., 1899), p. 174.

^{xxxiii} David Garrick visited in August 1779. 'Being particularly charmed with the Grotto, he said he should like it for his burying-place, upon which one of the Company wished him to write his own Epitaph, which as soon as he returned to the house, he did...' See, *The Life and Death of David Garrick, Esq....2nd edn* (London: J. Pridden; S. Bladon; J. Mathews, 1779), p. 56.

^{xxxiv} 'May 3 [1778]. Went to Church, saw Mr Hoare's garden, the ridings, and house. Lay at Stourhead'. British Library, Additional MSS, 30866, fo. 25 (John Wilkes's Diaries, 1770-1797).

^{xxxv} *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs Philip Lybbe Powys*, p. 174.

^{xxxvi} Sir Richard Colt Hoare patronised Turner, and Stourhead was home to the artist's ten views of Salisbury Cathedral before the Heirlooms Sale of 1888. See, Alastair Lang, 'Stourhead: Illustrated List of Pictures and Sculpture' [www.nationaltrust.org.uk/main/w-stourhead-pictures-final.pdf, accessed 12 Apr. 2011].

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- xxxvii John Dixon Hunt has stressed the need for ‘proposing some structure by which such an analysis [of visitors’ responses] could be conducted beyond the merely anecdotal and empirical’ and argues for the modification of literary reception theory. See John Dixon Hunt, *The Afterlife of Gardens* (London: Reaktion Books, 2004), esp. Ch. 1, pp. 11-36.
- xxxviii Wesley’s journal entry, 12 Sept. 1776, quoted in George Sweetman, *Guide to Stourhead, Wilts. The Seat of Sir Henry Hoare, Bart* (Wincanton: George Sweetman, 1901), p. 26.
- xxxix *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs Philip Lybbe Powys*, p. 163.
- xl *Ibid.*, p. 168.
- xli Heimerick Tromp and Evelyn Newby, ‘A Dutchman’s Visits to Some English Gardens in 1791’, *Journal of Garden History*, 2:1 (1982), pp. 41-58 (p. 50).
- xlii ‘It is impossible for me to describe to you the very marked kindness and condescension which Major Green [Shelburne’s son’s travelling companion] and myself have experienced at the hands of the Prince; he had the goodness to carry us himself all over this place in the country Worlitz, which is entirely his own making, is laid out in the English stile of Gardening, and in some degree resembles Stourhead, though it is more extensive.’ Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Film 2028, Bowood Muniments – Shelburne Papers 138, fo. 160 (Dessau, 28 Sept. 1786). For further discussion of how Stourhead inspired the gardens of Prince Leopold III, Friedrich Franz of Anhalt-Dessau at Wörlitz, see Maiken Umbach, *Federalism and Enlightenment in Germany 1740-1806* (London: The Hambledon Press, 2000), esp. Chapter 3, pp. 59-90.
- xliii Peter De Bolla, *The Education of the Eye: Painting, Landscape and Architecture in eighteenth-century Britain* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003), p. 141.
- xliv *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs Philip Lybbe Powys*, p. 163.
- xliv Quoted in Roy L. Winstanley, ‘Samuel Woodford (R.A.) 1763-1817’, *The Parson Woodforde Society Journal*, 6:1 (1973), p. 11.
- xlvi *The Diary of James Woodforde*, ed. Peter Jameson (18 vols., Halesowen: The Parson Woodforde Society, 2003), xiii, p. 284.
- xlvii Lord Digby, quoted in Joanna Martin, *Wives and Daughters: Women and Children in the Georgian Country House* (London: Hambledon, 2004), p. 316.
- xlviii Sherborn Castle MSS, Game Book, 28 Sept. 1768/29-30 Aug. 1771. Quoted in *ibid.*
- xlix *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs Philip Lybbe Powys*, p. 170.
- ¹ Richard Fenton, *A Tour in Quest of Genealogy Through Several Parts of Wales, Somersetshire, and Wiltshire, in Series of Letters to a Friend in Dublin; Interspersed with a Description of Stourhead and Stonehenge; Together with Various Anecdotes...* (London: Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, 1811), p. 185.
- li The Coplestone Warre Bampfylde watercolours (*Stourhead Pleasure Grounds, View to the Pantheon, c.1775* and *Stourhead Pleasure Grounds: View to the Bristol Cross and Village, c.1775*) from which Vivares based his 1777 engravings hang in the library at Stourhead. See, Alastair Lang, ‘Stourhead: Illustrated List of Pictures and Sculpture’ [www.nationaltrust.org.uk/main/w-stourhead-pictures-final.pdf], accessed 26 Aug. 2011].

lii Jonas Hanway, *A Journal of Eight Days Journey from Portsmouth to Kingston upon Thames...* 2nd edn., (2 vols., London: H. Woodfall and C. Henderson, 1757), i, p. 138.

liii C.W. Bampfylde, *View with Pantheon, Grotto, Wooden Palladian Bridge and Obelisk* (Victoria & Albert Museum, E.360-1949) and *View with Temple of Flora, Stone bridge, Cross, Church and Temple of Apollo*.

liv For further discussion of the role of boats in the eighteenth-century garden see, Kate Felus, 'Boats and Boating in the Designed Landscape', *Garden History*, 34:1 (2006), pp. 22-46.

lv Dixon Hunt, *The Afterlife of Gardens*, p. 201.

lvi Charlesworth, 'Movement, Intersubjectivity and Mercantile Morality at Stourhead', p. 263.

lvii Kelsall, 'The Iconography of Stourhead', p.137

lviii Malins, *English Landscaping and Literature, 1660-1840*, pp. 51-54. In earlier guidebooks to Stourhead the Temple of Flora had attracted only fleeting glances. No mention was made of it in George Sweetman's *Guide to Stourhead, Wilts.*, until the 5th edition in 1925 (George Sweetman, *Guide to Stourhead, Wilts.*, 5th edn (London: Folk Press, 1925), and James Lees-Milne, in the first National Trust guide to the gardens goes no further than to mention 'the exquisite Temple of Flora, with its Doric portico, set a little above the urned head of Paradise Well' (James Lees-Milne, *Stourhead: A Property of the National Trust* (London: Country Life for The National Trust, 1948), p. 11.

lix Kelsall, 'The Iconography of Stourhead', p. 138.

lx 'Emerging again into day, we are soon led to the temple of Flora, of the Doric order, simple and chaste, as its tutelary deity. From the portico we take in the wide-spread lake and all its adjuncts, seen here under new circumstances and different combinations; over the gate of the temple is this prohibition of entrance to the profane, *Procul, O procul, este profani*; and within it are, a vase of composition from an antique model, two classical altars and many sellae and busts.' Richard Warner, *Excursions from Bath* (Bath: R. Cruttwell, 1801), p. 113.

lxi Malins, *English Landscaping and Literature, 1660-1840*, p. 54.

lxii Woodbridge, 'Henry Hoare's Paradise', p. 83 and idem., *Landscape and Antiquity: Aspects of English Culture at Stourhead, 1718 to 1838*, p. 34.

lxiii Paulson, *Emblem and Expression: Meaning in English Art of the Eighteenth Century*, p. 29.

lxiv Schulz, 'The Circuit Walk of the Eighteenth-Century Landscape Garden and the Pilgrim's Circuitous Progress', p. 8.

lxv Kelsall, 'The Iconography of Stourhead', p. 138.

lxvi Charlesworth, 'Movement, Intersubjectivity, and Mercantile Morality at Stourhead', p. 267.

lxvii The 1978 conservation report for Stourhead suggested that, 'the recognised route from the main car park to the gardens should be from the direction of the house, as originally intended'. The report goes on to outline that the Temple of Flora, 'seems not have been part of the circuit walk until the path from the village was made in 1793'. *The Conservation of the Garden at Stourhead and parts of the park relating to it. Report and Recommendations of the Committee appointed by The National Trust* (Bath: Bath University Press, 1978), p. 8 and p. 20.

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- lxxviii Richard Colt Hoare, *A Description of the House, Paintings and Gardens, Together with the Museum of Antiquities at Stourhead* (Bath, 1818), p. 22.
- lxxix *Ibid.*, p. 27.
- lxxx The author of *A Ride and Walk Through Stourhead. A Poem* (London: J.F. and C. Rivington, 1780), however, after first exploring the wider landscape started his lakeside walk with the Temple of Flora: 'Me weary Faugoine, silver'd o'er by Care,/ Conducts to Flora's latent, modest Fane.' (389-390) He does not record the inscription.
- lxxxi Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Through the Island of Great Britain. Divided into Circuits or Journies* (4 vols., London: W. Strahan et al, 1778), i., p. 317.
- lxxxii Horace Walpole described this structure as 'a greenhouse of false Gothic' in July 1762. Walpole, 'Visits to Country Seats', p. 43.
- lxxxiii Defoe, *A Tour Through the Island of Great Britain. Divided into Circuits or Journies*, p. 319.
- lxxxiv William Gilpin, *Observations on the Western Parts of England, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty* (London: T. Cadell jun. and W. Davies, 1798), p. 119-123.
- lxxxv Hanway, *A Journal of Eight Days Journey from Portsmouth to Kingston upon Thames...*, p. 138.
- lxxxvi Tromp and Newby, 'A Dutchman's Visits to Some English Gardens in 1791', p. 50.
- lxxxvii Woodbridge, 'Stourhead in 1768: Extracts from an Unpublished Journal by Sir John Parnell', p. 64.
- lxxxviii John Claudius Loudon, 'Notes on Gardens and Country Seats, visited, from July 27. To September 16., during a Tour through Part of Middlesex, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Hampshire, Sussex, and Kent. By the Conductor', in *The Gardener's Magazine*, 11:64 (1835), p. 336. For more on Loudon's writings as the 'Conductor' see, John Claudius Loudon, *In Search of English Gardens: The Travels of John Claudius Loudon and his Wife Jane*, eds. John Sales and Priscilla Boniface (London: Century, 1990), p. 10.
- lxxxix Turner, 'The Structure of Henry Hoare's Stourhead', p.74.
- lxxx 'Once the dam was finished (in 1754), the effect of this straight sided canal with the informal, naturalistic shape of the remainder of the lake may not have been happy. It appears that elements of the water feature were removed; making a more naturalistic feature'. See Colin McKewan (ed.), 'The Stourhead Landscape Archaeology Project 2005: Survey and Excavation of the Lake at Stourhead House', especially pp. 41-44 (quotation from p.89).
[<http://www.nauticalarchaeologysociety.org/projects/pdfs/stourhead2005.pdf>, accessed 22 Apr. 2011].
- lxxxii Woodbridge, 'Stourhead in 1768: Extracts from an Unpublished Journal by Sir John Parnell', p. 67.
- lxxxiii Dixon Hunt, *The Afterlife of Gardens*, p. 45.
- lxxxiiii *A Ride and Walk Through Stourhead. A Poem* (London: J., F., and C. Rivington, 1780), lines 67-68.
- lxxxv *Ibid.*, line 338.
- lxxxvi Colt Hoare, *A Description of the House, Paintings and Gardens, Together with the Museum of Antiquities at Stourhead*, p. 22.

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- lxxxvi 'Whether we commence our ride or drive from the Mansion-House or the Inn, the lower road must be taken on setting out, and the upper one over the Terrace must direct our return'. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
- lxxxvii Gilpin, *Observations on the Western Parts of England, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty*, p. 123.
- lxxxviii *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs Philip Lybbe*, p. 169.
- lxxxix *A Description of the House and Gardens at Stourhead. With a Catalogue of the Pitures, &c.* (Salisbury: J. Easton, 1800), pp. 43-44. (Bod G.A. Wilts 16° 15 (2)).
- xc *The Salisbury Guide, Giving an Account of the Antiquities of Old Sarum, And the ancient and present State of New Sarum, or Salisbury; The Cathedral, Stonehenge, Seats of the Nobility and Gentry...* 20th edn (Salisbury: J. Easton, 1799), p. 79.
- xci *A Description of the House and Gardens at Stourhead*, p.47
- xcii Woodbridge, 'Stourhead in 1768: Extracts from an Unpublished Journal by Sir John Parnell', p. 68.
- xciii *Ibid.*, p. 69.
- xciv *Ibid.*
- xcv Fenton, *A Tour in Quest of Genealogy*, p. 196.
- xcvi Loudon, 'Notes on Gardens and Country Seats', p. 337.
- xcvii *ibid.*, p. 336.
- xcviii *Ibid.*, p. 337.
- xcix Hanway, *A Journal of Eight Days Journey from Portsmouth to Kingston upon Thames...*, p. 158.
- c Richard Graves, *Columella: Or, The Distressed Anchoret...* (2 vols., London: J. Dodsley, 1779), i., p. 5.
- ci *Ibid.*, p. 29.
- cii *Ibid.*, p. 30.
- ciii *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs Philip Lybbe Powys*, p. 169.
- civ Dixon Hunt, *The Afterlife of Gardens*, p. 125.
- cv Tim Mowl has lamented how, 'most visitors miss [St Peter's Pump] and only motorists seem to reach King Alfred's Tower' at Stourhead. Timothy Mowl, *Historic Gardens of Wiltshire* (Stroud: Tempus, 2004), p. 93.
- cvi Mrs Rishton described the Convent as such to Fanny Burney. *The Early Diary of Frances Burney*, i., p. 323.
- cvii Woodbridge, *Landscape and Antiquity: Aspects of English Culture at Stourhead, 1718 to 1838*, p. 65.
- cviii John Dixon Hunt, 'Folly in the Garden', *The Hopkins Review*, 1:2 (2008), p. 240.
- cix Paulson, *Emblem and Expression Expression: Meaning in English Art of the Eighteenth Century*, p. 28.
- cx Kelsall, 'The Iconography of Stourhead', p. 142.
- cx Turner, 'The Structure of Henry Hoare's Stourhead', p. 77.
- cxii Woodbridge, *Landscape and Antiquity: Aspects of English Culture at Stourhead, 1718 to 1838*, p. 65.
- cxiii Defoe, *A Tour Through The Island of Great Britain. Divided into Circuits or Journies...*, pp. 320-1.
- cxiv George Atkinson Ward, *Journal and Letters of the late Samuel Curwen...* (London: Wiley and Putnam; New York: C.S. Francis, 1842), p. 79.
- cxv *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs Philip Lybbe Powys*, p. 171.

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- cxvi Cecil Aspinall-Oglander, *Admiral's Widow: Being the Life and Letters of the Hon. Mrs Edward Boscawen from 1761 to 1785* (London: Hogarth Press, 1945), p. 114.
- cxvii Fenton, *A Tour in Quest of Genealogy*, p. 197.
- cxviii C. Tonstall, 'Visit to Stourhead, Wilts.' *Gentleman's Magazine* (Nov., 1822), p. 389.
- cxix Alfred's Tower was visible from the tower of St. Mary Magdalen, Taunton: 'From the top of the tower is a most extensive and delightful prospect of the rich vale of Taunton Dean, of the gentlemen's seats, of the windings of the river, and of the country surrounded by the distant hills. The view takes in the pillar erected by the late earl of Chatham, at Burton Pynsent; Glastonbury Tor; and Alfred's Tower, at Stourhead, built by the late Mr. Hoare.' Joshua Toulmin, *The History of the town of Taunton....*(Taunton: James Savage, 1791), p. 27.
- cxx *A Ride and Walk Through Stourhead*, lines 175-179.
- cxxi Warner, *Excursions from Bath*, p. 115.
- cxxii Tonstall, 'Visit to Stourhead, Wilts.', p. 389.
- cxxiii Simon Keynes, 'The Cult of King Alfred the Great', *Anglo-Saxon England* 28 (1999), p. 288
- cxxiv Atkinson Ward, *Journal and Letters of the late Samuel Curwen*, p. 78.
- cxxv Fenton, *A Tour in Quest of Genealogy*, p. 198.
- cxxvi *Ibid.*, p. 2.
- cxxvii Mowl, *Historic Gardens of Wiltshire*, p. 91.
- cxxviii Defoe, *A Tour Through the Island of Great Britain. Divided into Circuits or Journies*, p. 320.
- cxxix Fenton, *A Tour in Quest of Genealogy*, p. 214
- xxx *Ibid.*, p. 215.
- xxxvi J. Easton, *The Salisbury Guide....*, 31st edn (Salisbury, 1830), p. 80.
- xxxvii *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs Delany: With interesting reminiscences of King George the Third and Queen Charlotte*, 2nd Series, ed. Lady Llanover (3 vols., 1862), iii, p. 141.
- xxxviii *A Description of the House, Paintings and Gardens, Together with the Museum of Antiquities at Stourhead*, p. 28.
- xxxix Hanway, *A Journal of Eight Days Journey from Portsmouth to Kingston upon Thames*, ii., p. 141.
- xxxv For further discussion see, Stephen Bending, "'One Among the Many": Popular Aesthetics, Polite Culture and the Country House Landscape', in Dana Arnold (ed.), *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape and Society* (Stroud: Sutton, 1998), pp. 61-78.
- xxxvi *Passages from the Early Diary of Frances Burney*, p. 322.
- xxxvii Aspinall-Oglander, *Admiral's Widow*, p. 114
- xxxviii Fenton, *A Tour in Quest of Genealogy*, p. 181.
- xxxix *The Torrington Diaries, Containing the Tours Through England and Wales of the Hon. John Byng...Between the Years 1781 and 1794*, ed., Cyril Bruyn Andrews, (4 vols., London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1934-1938), i, p. 47.
- cxli Woodbridge, 'Stourhead in 1768: Extracts from an unpublished journal by Sir John Parnell', p. 65.
- cxli Woodbridge, 'Stourhead in 1768: Extracts from an unpublished journal by Sir John Parnell', *ibid.*, p. 66.

cxlii MS Diaries of Amabel Yorke.

cxliii For discussions of the subsequent impact of Horace Walpole's work on the evolution of garden history as a discipline, see Stephen Bending, 'Horace Walpole and Eighteenth-Century Garden History', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 77 (1994), 209-226; and Michael Leslie, 'History and Historiography in the English Landscape Garden', in Michel Conan (ed.), *Perspectives on Garden Histories* (Washington D.C.: Dunbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1999), 91-106.

cxliv 'Visits to Country Seats', p. 41-44. In 1800, Poussin's work hung in the drawing room. *A Description of the House and Gardens at Stourhead, in the County of Wilts, The Seat of Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart. With a Catalogue of the Pictures, &c.* (Salisbury: J. Easton, 1800), p. 12.

cxlv Gordon, 'The Iconography and Mythology of the Eighteenth Century English Landscape Garden', p. 21.

cxlvi 'The Statues are mixt; Hercules in the midst, an Emperess (with the attributes of Juno, & Ceres) next him: & so, of the rest.:'; 'the Temple of Apollo; taken partly from the Temple at Tivoli, & partly from a Temple to the Sun at Balbeck'. John Dixon Hunt and Peter Willis (eds.), *The Genius of the Place: The English Landscape Garden 1620-1820* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1988), p. 273.

cxlvii *The Journals of the Rev. John Wesley, AM*, ed. N. Curnock (8 vols, London: R. Culley, 1906-1916), vi, p. 128. Wesley also provides discerning comparisons between Stowe and Stourhead. See, *An Extract of the Rev. Mr. John Wesley's Journal, from August 9, 1779 to August 26, 1782* (London: J. Paramore, 1797), p. 9-10.

cxlviii Hanway, *A Journal of Eight Days Journey from Portsmouth to Kingston upon Thames*, p. 141.